

Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his matapule arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motuliki his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungī. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakahe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji. The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians. Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uihā Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the matapule who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exercised in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter (*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatāfe to eat. The descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiāulahi, who was of Rotuman origin, were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips. His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu, where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki brought with him to Tonga.

rewarded with a tract of land on an island in the Vavau group. The tract still belongs to a member of the family, but not to X. X's family belongs to the Haa Ngata Tupu in which are Ulukalala, Tapuelelu, and other great chiefs. X considers himself a matapule, because certain ancestors were *toutai* to the Tui Tonga. All people bearing X's name can trace relationship to the Tui Tonga's *toutai*, but all cannot trace relationship to the Haa Ngata Tupu chiefs, as X can. He counts himself a member of Haa Ngata Tupu by blood relationship. [565
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As do other informants X regards all three classes as Tongan. He has relatives in Niuatoputapu, Uvea, and Samoa, brought about by his forefathers marrying there. [582]

THE ACT OF OBEISANCE

The following is a translation of a Tongan account supplied by Mrs. Rachel Tonga. Compare 41, vol. 1, p. 434; 19, vol. 1, p. 409. [622
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This is the way that the act of *moemoei*, or touching of the soles of the chiefs' feet as a mark of reverence, was done. That was a great mark of respect in Tonga, and it was not done to anyone but the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, and the chiefs of one's own lineage.

To the Tamaha the respect was paid by touching the soles of her feet. This was done by all persons from the Tui Tonga himself down to the lowest person. The Tamaha was the first, highest, and most sacred chief in the land. The Tui Tonga was the most sacred male chief in the land. This respect of touching the soles of his feet was paid him by the Kauhahalalo, that is the reigning king (Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu) and all the high chiefs down to the lowest person. [644]

The *moemoei* was done when first entering the house, so that one might be at liberty to sit down in the house, on the occasion of a kava party or other gathering. And when wishing to go outside of the house it was done again, after the completion of the kava ceremonies or entertainment, or other matter that might have taken one into her (or his) presence.

This is the way that the *moemoei* is done. One goes and stoops down and places the back of both hands on the soles of the chief's feet. And after that is finished then one stands up and goes. And should it be difficult to approach and *moemoei* because of her (or his) partaking of the kava being too ceremonious, one went to a small wooden bowl which was left at the threshold outside and which was called "the carrier of immunity" (*koe fajanonga*). One went and did the *moemoei* ceremony to the bowl, just as if it were the Tamaha or the Tui Tonga. Then one was at liberty to go home, free of tapu. [516]

If one was doing *moemoei* to one's own hereditary chief, it was done with the crown of the head. One went and knelt down and placed the crown of his head against the soles of the chief's feet, so that one might be at liberty to sit down or to go as the case might be. [516]

Thomson (54, p. 293, footnote 1) has an interesting note on performing *moemoei*, in which he points out that it was performed at times as a prophylactic: [576
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A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moemoei* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moemoei* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken. [784]

Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua*,⁶²² to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure^[798] which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono*,^[621] as in the modern *fono*, the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs, not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On⁶²² one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See⁸²⁶ how big he is." 142

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtasaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.

The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.

At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells⁶²² which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though⁵¹⁵ occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing³¹² well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe^[565] in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and^[753] die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had^[562] special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing. Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesias, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere^[541] (25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first⁶²² of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite²⁶² ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard^[252] Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the⁶²² chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe reprimand.²⁷⁶ 431

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was 622
 coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to 276
 our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man fail- 431
 ing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. 123
 Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a 622
 large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did 687
 not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that 576
 servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated 554
 near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window 557
 rather than pass near him. 516

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or 565
 drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu 264
 would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil 784
 consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand 753
 (anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan 755
 society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat
 in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by
 eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it 622
 is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who 576
 does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind 565
 him unnecessary. 784
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The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain 622
 portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerog- 262
 ative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the fol- 252
 lowing manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed
 on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place
 by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs,
 the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was 784
 said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with
 anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit
 food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (i) the
 head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken
 of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance
 are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck
 and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hika-
 hika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil
 glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the
 skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down
 the back of the neck on to the back.

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *fake* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interest-
ing etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*,
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [182]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered him- [644]
self buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [643]
(p. 76). [769]

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Ton-
gan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

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In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *isi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. [757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. [776, 782, 784, 785]

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. [776, 783, 787]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanaapa. [776, 782]

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [778, 783, 787, 823]

DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793, 798]

DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. [776, 778, 823]

DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreaths (*sini*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821, 822]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking [776, 783, 787, 821]

Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa⁷⁷⁶ Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the⁵⁶⁵ lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this^[613] deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabi-⁷⁷⁶ tants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this⁶⁴⁸ god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The²⁶⁶ oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

DEITIES OF NIUATOPUTAPU

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god⁷⁷⁶ who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many ac-⁸²⁵ counts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B. Mace, S. M.

At the time of my last visit to Niuatoputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.

Seketoa was a chief of Niuatoputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king.⁷⁷⁶ On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred⁸²⁵ of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of⁷⁷³ that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He^[164] did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and another contagious skin disease.

One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on^[75?] to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.

Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.

The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niuatoputapu. He communicated his^[53] disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are^[14] afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.

After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

Seketoo, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his family. The fear of displeasing Seketoo, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands. 776 825

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the murder of Seketoo is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoo. 776 825 753 164

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add that those conjectures concerning Seketoo deserve no credit, though I am disposed to believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due. 776 825

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoo about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoo saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoo appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, 776 called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tau*) spreader (of god's words)." He was the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink. The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish (*talouma*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them. 776 793 787 252

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo*, are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufiletonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaaleanga*. No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua*. Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, 613
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. How- 753
ever, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the 753
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through 764
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 563
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. 592
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and 825
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- 784
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, 262
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people 787
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Moheldi-
fiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose
priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants de-
clared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants
a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little
skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is
not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can
be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and de- [775]
parted relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct
displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's con- 778
duct. Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian,
especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who
is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being
manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term
mofi (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god,
which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offer- [776]
ings, was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other in- [782]
formants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A per- [777]
son who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term
based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem *mana*) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably
the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative.
Maatu, the chief of Niuatopotapu, had the following to say:

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Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of *mana*) of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoi* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called *laumalie* for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoife* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours, but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga) were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua) by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775 as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825 was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565 about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775 through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare, though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another 825 woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774 and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means lit- 775 erally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776 human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196 gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The 793 word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by 787 the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treat- 775 ment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *laulolu* and to have the 753 infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787 the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755 infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

Ofa went to Tongatabu, where he lived at or near the residence of the Tui Tonga. A child was born to the Tui Tonga by one of his concubines. After a time the Tui Tonga sailed to Haapai and left the mother and child in the care of Ofa. But Ofa^[937] and the woman became too fond, and when the Tui Tonga returned from Haapai, he found the child ill. Recourse was had to spinning a coconut to discover by whose fault the child was sick, and the lot fell on the Tui Tonga and the concubine. On again spinning the coconut between these two, the concubine was indicated. She admitted her intimacy with Ofa. The child recovered and the Tui Tonga said to name him Takelevaka, after Ofa's father. This child, though the son of a Tui Tonga, was adopted as the son of Ofa. ^[753]

Another good example of divination by coconut spinning is given on page 298.

In the account of Peter Vi (3) concerning the introduction of Christianity into Haapai, the following example of divination is mentioned, as presaging the favorable or unfavorable reception of Christianity by the Haapai chiefs. Peter Vi was proceeding from Tongatabu to Lifuka Island, about 1830, to give Christian instruction and was doing so at the wish of Taufaaahau, the Tui Haapai, who later became King George I. "And we cast lots. If we arrived at Haafeva and Haveahikuleo [Tuuhetoka] was sitting with torn mats around his loins as a sign of mourning, we were to know that the chiefs of Haapai were very angry. And when we arrived we saw that Tuuhetoka had mourning mats on." ^[797]

The following account was furnished by Mr. W. H. Murley:

In July 1909 a small boy was sitting by himself in a house in Futu in Niuafoou [Futu had been demolished by a hurricane in April, 1909] and a man whom he had not previously seen entered and asked the small youth if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The boy replied that he did not, that he was yet young and without learning. The man answered, "Then you will know, for in the month of September your people will not be able to sit down to eat, for something dreadful will occur." With that the man turned to go and the boy saw with startled eyes that the man had wings. He walked a little, then lifted himself and flew out of sight. The boy has been most strictly cross-questioned but he still sticks to his original story. As a consequence people are leaving Niuafoou whenever the opportunity occurs. ^[731]

The island in the middle of the lake has been split in halves through earthquakes. I will leave this space open so that should anything of importance occur in confirmation of the boy's vision or whatever it might be, I will write it down.

In September 1912 volcanoes burst out in Futu in all directions and the aspect in that part has been changed. Nobody was killed and the eruption lasted only a week or so.

OMENS

Many omens require no priest nor diviner for interpretation at the present day, though anciently the priests and diviners may have been consulted about them. The omens include sneezing, the movements of animals, and certain meteorological and celestial phenomena.

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months. 787
828

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food. [753]

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*). [753]
[831]
[776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect. 789
755
754

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.) 756

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given. [757]

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent. 789
825
[846]

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50). 789

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said: 789
836

Hinehina matailaila
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei mooku.

White with spots
Give me your bad tooth
But have a good tooth for yourself. [539]
[538]

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may 777

him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the hush he will either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fellow townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives dare not avenge his death. 754
[776]
[682]
[683]

The two Nonuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams. [683]

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nonuka informants knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people. [609]
[186]

Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies. [755]

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915. 754
517
685

Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.) 753

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A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [164]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafouu some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. [835]

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) [837]

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) [828]

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. [825] [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 [776] [787] [761]

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. [755]

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 [775]

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." 763 [165] [775]

The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763
775
764

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! 763
753
768
593
Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue. 763
784
764
262

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death. 626
763
695

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession. 695
626
685
763
783

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders. 675
779
782

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves." 782

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu 784
[171]

breaker. An example of such a tapu is the placing of a shark, or other fish, emblem upon a tree in a plantation, with the penalty that the tapu breaker will be devoured by a shark or other savage fish, the representative of a god such as Taufaitahi. I noted these tapu signs, as well as those used by medical practitioners in both Eua and Nomuka islands.

The tapus placed by medical practitioners consist of leaf or coconut fiber (*kaka*) bundles containing pulverized leaves, which are attached to trees or hung on sticks or fences. (I saw one on a barbed wire fence.) To defy this tapu is to become afflicted with boils or some other ailment. The tapu tree is called *taungatapu* (tapu roost), and this practice by which thieves are said to be accursed is called *tuka*. The following note by Mr. W. H. Murley refers to this practice of *tuki*:

All Tongans are more or less doctors (of a sort), but every family has a specific for some particular disease—there is no general doctor amongst them. For instance, one family will have the gift of curing wounds or stopping bleeding merely by touch. Others again are specialists in strains and so on. But nearly every disease that they cannot describe as either a break, strain, wound, or cramps comes under the general heading of *hangatamaki*. The nearest translations are "boil and ulcer," but the term is applied to both internal and external complaints. For example, rheumatism and ordinary boils on the skin are both classed as *hangatamaki*. Each particular kind has its separate doctor and although another person might use the same specifics the effect will not be produced. All this preamble is necessary to explain the tapu. If a farmer is tired of having the coconuts stolen off his plantation and is desirous of having them *tapu*, he will go to a man who has the reputation of curing a certain *hangatamaki*, say styes on the eyes, and beg him to go along to his plantation (*api*) and tapu the coconuts. With this end in view the doctor will make up a few packages containing odds and ends and hang them in conspicuous positions on various coconut trees. From that time on the plantation is tapu and should anyone, even the owner, take coconuts away, or even touch one he will be afflicted with that particular *hangatamaki* and will have to go to the one who put on the tapu in order to get cured. When the sufferer is cured he will bring along a substantial present to the doctor in payment for services. The tapu is only taken off at the wish of the owner, who, accompanied by the one who put it on, goes and takes down the packages from the various trees.

The term *sausau* was given by one informant as another word that applies both to the concrete object attached to the tree or other property and to the curse or malediction accompanying it and falling upon the tapu breaker, who becomes subject to the curse of the one who put up the tapu badge. By another informant *sausau* was listed as one of several tapus and "sickness." The others are *tapuofe* (to bend under a load), *maha-ngalei* (twins, one of each sex), *kahipapalangi* (*kahi*, goiter; *papalangi*, European), *hulupa*, and *kahitoto*.

According to Methodist informants, a Free Church minister in Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai, at the time of my visit was engaged in the lucrative side line of taping coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses, and yam plantations against pigs. White calico consecrated by contact with the Bible was the tapu emblem employed. The reputation for efficacy

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau. [261]

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow on the top of the walled mound Siamafuata, or rests there, he or she will become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu. [565] [753]

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab. 784

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [565] [753]

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives. 784 604

The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. [553] 784 827 302

2: Mariner

OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on the native theory of the disease that caused the deaths of Finau and his daughter, see Category 763, pp. 354-359.]

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

353

to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accus-755
tomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 599
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 743
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the conse- 776
crated house where the sick child lay, but where- [484]
ever the priest happened to be, which was gene- [778]
rally at his own house or at Finow's. It must [565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 743
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest en- 634
treaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and 599
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the 7276
following effect; "Why do you weary your- [753]
selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

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TRANSACTIONS AT

787
 793 " gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the
 755 sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her
 634 hand and shed tears. During this time the ma-
 599 tabooles frequently repaired to the house of the
 753 priest, and laying cava before him, consulted
 565 him privately. On one of these occasions, Fi-
 276 now not being present, he told them that if they
 knew why the child was sick they would not
 come thus to invoke him : he then declared, in
 general terms, that it was for the common good.
 Finow, being informed of this, addressed the
 priest at the consultation on the following
 morning, asking him (or rather the god within
 him) what he meant by the general good ? " If
 " my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all
 " my subjects so likewise ? but if the gods have
 " any resentment against us, let the whole
 " weight of vengeance fall on my head : I fear
 " not their vengeance,—but spare my child ;
 " and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to
 " exert all your influence with the other gods,
 " that I alone may suffer all the punishment
 " they desire to inflict." To this the god re-
 turned no answer, and the priest retiring among
 the people, the company separated.

634 As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his
 763 spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride,
 in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on
 his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

634 had so reasonably said upon the subject; his
628 pride, however (as it was believed) was much
hurt at feeling the necessity of coinciding in
the wishes of so young and inexperienced a chief.
Whilst Toobo Toa was speaking, the tears ran
down his cheeks, influenced probably by the
feelings of his heart, for he had a great respect
for the late How, a real friendship for him, and
felt a sincere regret for his loss. The same
evening he took his leave of Finow, by perform-
ing the ceremony of *moe-moe**, and repaired

634 * A kind of salute paid to the greatest chief present, and
628 consists in bowing the head, (whilst sitting cross-legged be-
576 fore him) so that the forehead touches the sole of the chief's
751 foot, (who sits in like manner) and then touching the sole
[261] of the same foot, (which may be either the right or the left)
first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. The
ceremony is also performed by persons who may have acci-
dentally touched any part of a superior chief's person, or
any thing whatever belonging to him; and unless this cere-
mony is performed after such contact, they cannot eat with-
out danger (as they suppose) of swelling up and dying.
[164] They are very subject to indurations of the liver, and certain
[753] forms of scrofula hereafter to be spoken of, and which, as they
conceive, frequently happens from a neglect of this ceremony,
after touching any thing belonging to a superior chief. They
most frequently, however, perform it, without knowing
themselves to have occasion for it, merely as a matter of cau-
tion. And if a man has eaten any thing without performing
this ceremony when he had occasion for it, the chief applies
the sole of his foot also to the man's belly, as a greater se-
curity against such swellings. *Moe-moe* means literally to
touch or press. (See note, p. 141.)

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his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about; and, on such occasions, the people give loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives to keep them in proper order in this respect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

779 time turned into a turtle, and was the origin
825 and source of all the turtle now found in the
world.

262 This story obtains almost universal credit at
784 the Tonga islands; in consequence, turtles are
[752] considered as almost a prohibited food, at least
very few will venture to eat them without first
offering a portion to some god, or sending some
to any chief that may be at hand: and there
are many that will not eat turtle on any ac-
count, being fearful of its producing enlarged
livers, or some such visceral complaint. It is
not supposed, however, to be so likely to have
a bad effect upon great chiefs, as they approach
so near in rank and character to the gods
themselves.

773 Such are their principal notions respecting
the origin of things. As to the first formation
of the solid sky (as they deem it), or the island
of Bolotoo, or the gods themselves, they pre-
tend to form no idea, and never think of agi-
tating the question, whether they are eternal,
or whether they had a beginning, deeming all
such speculations as vain and fruitless; for
who, say they, can remember, or who has been
[530] there to see? They have no legends or tales
[171] that seem to resemble those of the Society
islands, as related by Captain Cook.

823 Respecting the earth, their notion is, that it

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

141

sidered it all concentrated in their chief god. They firmly believe that the gods approve of virtue, and are displeased with vice; that every man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him as long as he conducts himself as he ought to do; but, if he does not, will leave him to the approaches of misfortune, disease, and death. And here we find some ground on which to establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is not sufficient: there is implanted in the human breast a knowledge or sentiment which enables us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish between the beauty of disinterestedness and the foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish; and the effect of this sentiment is one of the strongest marks of character in the natives of these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had for conducting themselves with propriety, besides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied, the agreeable and happy feeling which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action, or conducts himself nobly and generously, as a man ought to do: and this question they answered as if they wondered such a question should be asked. After this, we cannot but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice), that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted in their breasts; and it would be very unrea-

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mony of *mbë-mbë*, before he will dare feed him-⁷⁸⁴
 self with his own hands. This ceremony consists ⁵⁶⁵
 in touching the soles of any superior chief's ⁷⁸⁸
 feet with the hands, first applying the palm,
 then the back of each hand; after which the
 hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if
 there be no water near, they may be rubbed
 with any part of the stem of the plantain or ba-
 nana tree, the moisture of which will do instead
 of washing. He may then feed himself without
 danger of any disease, which would otherwise ²⁶⁴
 happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed ⁷⁵³
 hands: but if any one think he may have already
 (unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he
 then sits down before a chief, and taking the
 foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against
 his own abdomen, that the food which is within
 him may do him no injury, and that conse-
 quently he may not swell up and die: this opera-
 tion is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed ⁷⁸⁴
 also to eat when a superior relation is present, ²⁶⁴
 unless the back is turned towards him: for ⁵⁶⁵
 when a person's back is turned towards another, ⁵¹⁶
 that other may be said, in one sense, not to be
 in his presence: also to eat food which a su-
 perior relation or chief has touched; and if
 either of these *taboos* is accidentally infringed
 upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed.
 If any one is tabooed by touching the person ⁷⁸⁴

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weeks, without any sort of dressing or washing; 752
the patient was confined to his house about two 757
months, and was not perfectly recovered till
near a twelvemonth, when he seemed as healthy
and as strong as ever, with scarcely any cough
having supervened in the meanwhile. This was
considered a very dangerous wound, and a very
well conducted cure. Mr. Mariner does not 826
know that they are acquainted either with the
exact situation or existence of the intercostal
arteries.

It often happens that the arrow, not being a 752
barbed one, is withdrawn without any difficulty;
but still the surgeon thinks proper to perform
the operation of *cawso*, not by enlarging the
wound made by the arrow, but by making an-
other at some little distance from it, in a part
which, either from judgment or education, he
deems more safe and proper. In all those per-
sons whom Mr. Mariner knew to have under-
gone the *cawso* it had been performed in nearly
the same situation as the one above stated.

We have observed in the before-mentioned 752
case that the wound was not washed, and it 757
may here be noticed, that in all cases of con- 515
siderable wounds produced by pointed instru- 753
ments the patient is not allowed to wash himself 302
till he is tolerably well recovered, nor to shave,
cut his hair, nor his nails: for all these things

752 they say are liable to produce *gita* (tetanus),
757 unless the wound be of such a nature, and in
515 such a situation, that it may with safety be first
753 laid completely open, then there is no danger.
[302] Mr. Mariner never witnessed a case of tetanus
[164] produced by these means; but he met with
many who said they had seen it in persons who
had got nearly well of their wounds, but hap-
pening to wash themselves too soon, spasm su-
pervened, and death was the consequence. They
752 notice that wounds in the extremities, parti-
753 cularly in the feet and hands, are liable to pro-
duce tetanus: also, in persons already wounded,
sudden alarms, or even any sudden noise that
calls the attention abruptly, is liable to produce
this complaint. They never allow females to
be near men thus wounded, lest the mere sti-
mulus of venereal desire should induce this
752 dangerous complaint. As to cutting the hair
757 and nails, they positively assert that the mere
302 sensation of these simple and common opera-
753 tions has not unfrequently been productive of
[515] these dreadful consequences. The man whose
case we have just mentioned was eight months
without being washed, shaved, or having his
hair or nails cut.

752 *Gita* is a disease very common among the
177 Tonga people; but still more common among
164 the natives of the Fiji islands, who, from their

164 |viduals affected with *pála* have been obliged to submit to the loss of a nose, the cartilaginous and softer parts of that organ becoming completely destroyed: it must be also mentioned at the same time, that the natives are subject to gonorrhœal discharges, attended with ardor urinæ. All these circumstances appear very equivocal: but Mr. Mariner has every reason to believe that the venereal disease did not exist under any form, either at the Hapai islands or Vavaoo, during the time that he was there; although, to his certain knowledge, three of the survivors of the Port au Prince's crew had gonorrhœas at the time the ship was taken, one of whom had brought it from England, and the other two had contracted it at the Sandwich islands. Several others of the ship's company had also venereal affections: but they fell in the general massacre on board. In the first place we must observe, in respect to those labouring under the diseases called *cahi* and *pála*, that the complaints are either not venereal, or that the venereal disease subsides in them, and the constitution cures itself spontaneously. 2dly, That the organs of generation are never affected previously to the more general disease coming on. 3dly, That these diseases are not known to be, or believed to be contracted by sexual intercourse. 4thly, That

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though these diseases in some constitutions¹⁶⁴ produce fatal consequences, yet very frequently the appetite and strength, and fulness of flesh, remain much the same as if no disease existed, though this happens in *pála* more than in *cahi*. In respect of the gonorrhœas to which they are subject, they are for the most part very mild in^[152] their symptoms, and get well in a few days; besides which, they are not capable of being communicated between the sexes, or at least this is not known or believed to be the case. With regard to the three men of the Port au Prince's crew, they got well without exactly knowing when or how: for the consternation occasioned by the capture of the ship and the destruction of their countrymen, and the alarm and state of anxiety in which they were for at least two or three days, had produced such a change in the constitution, or at least in the disease, that it had actually got well before they were aware of it. Mr. Mariner inquired among some of the oldest men if they had ever seen or heard of such a disease as syphilis or venereal gonorrhœa (describing the general character of it, and how it was communicated), and learnt that a woman, a native of one of the Hapai islands, having had connexion with one of the men belonging to a French ship, became on fire, (as they expressed it), and died after-

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months, and sometimes a couple of years. ¹⁶⁴
 From the symptoms thus far described, there is
 not much doubt about its resemblance to what ^[157]
 is called the *yaws*; the remedies they use for
 it are a certain bitter juice dropped into the
 ulcers, and rubbing off the fungous excrescences
 with cocoa-nut husk dipped in sea-water.
 They are subject also to a pustulous eruption, ^[153]
 chiefly confined to the feet, but which some-
 times affects the hands: it usually appears be-
 tween the toes, and has in its external character
 a strong resemblance to psora, and itches very
 much: it appears in the form of small pustules
 with whitish heads, which, when rubbed off,
 generally discharge a watery fluid: it is sup-
 posed to arise from walking in clayey places
 without the opportunity of washing the feet
 afterwards: it is not thought to be contagious:
 it usually lasts about four or five days. The
 name they give it is *gnbwaa*. They use no ^[157]
 remedy.

They are also subject to a disease called
fooa: but if we describe the symptoms of ele-
 phantiasis, we shall have related with tolerable
 accuracy the history of this disorder. Labillar-
 diere notices the disease, and calls it elephan-
 tiasis. They use no remedy for it. ^[157]

The disease called *moméco*, a sort of Maras-
 mus, usually lasts from four to seven months: ^[165]

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs 125

480. *Tala tae fai tuunga*: Talk without making standing place,⁵³⁹
that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief.⁸²⁹

481. *Tala tae fakaejia*: Talk without putting a handle to it, that
is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of
belief.⁵²¹

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. *Tauange mo koe*: I sincerely desire of you.⁵³⁹
This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty.⁵²¹

483. *Vale tala vale*: Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. *Oku longo a Tonga*: Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. [64]
It is said to have been first applied by Fijians.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. *Avanga kai ate*: Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver.⁵³⁹
The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love.⁸²⁶
[753]

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.)
[787]
[832]
[622]
[825]

485. *Kuo toona hoku ate*: My liver is baked.⁵³⁹
This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away.⁸²⁶

486. *Foki mei he uhi*: Returning from the uhi.⁵³⁹
Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* (*Evodia hortensis*) is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wit's end.⁷⁵⁷
[137]

2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetuao*, the morning star). 821
3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.
4. **Fetuu ejiafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.
5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782]
[776]
6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776]
[781]
[753]
7. **Mofulke:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Underworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823
776
8. **Ahloho:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821
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I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havea, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

765 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual
 858 for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-
 574 baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village
 276 overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an
 766 infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and
 thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be
 advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being
 poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The
 mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day
 mourning period.

766 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion
 858 in which an immature infant may be buried as compared
 with the burial of an important adult. It must be remem-
 bered, however, that the family of the dead child had
 apparent right to be more casual than most village families
 would have been in similar circumstances. This was their
 fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this
 family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and
 hence the parents could probably expect further deaths
 among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little
 of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to
 take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.
 761 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse
 152 dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to
 the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience.
 (765) Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not
 (594) at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is un-
 expected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family
 status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged
 with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

757 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager
 759 prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the
 village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor
 (743) only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan
 (777) types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of
 Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in
 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels
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that many types of sickness are due to ghostly visitants.²⁸ To deal with these ghosts, Tongan methods are more likely to bring about cures than the white man's science. The following treatments were compiled for us by one of the village medicine-men. They are given here, not as a complete survey of the village medical knowledge, but as indicating the sort of techniques that medicine men use in their day to day practice in the village. 753 775 757 759

Headache: There are two main types of treatment: 757

(a) Massage the head with a mixture of six *uhi* leaves crushed and mixed with coconut-oil; observe also the following rules: keep the head covered, do not go out in the wind, keep away from the sun and the sea; (b) Stamp on the ground three times; then place the feet on a mat and stamp again. Repeat this procedure five times in succession. This treatment is advisable if it is thought that the headache is caused by a ghost. The ghost is likely to drop from the body with the repeated shaking. 755 (824) [753]

Earache: If the earache appears to be caused by an abscess or inflammation, massage the region of the ear gently with six *nonu* leaves. On the other hand, should there be no signs of external irritation, then dip the finger in coconut-oil and poke the oil deep into the ear. 757 (824)

Mouthache: Spread coconut-oil over the back of the mouth and palate, then rinse out the mouth three times with water.

Toothache: (a) Smear coconut-oil on the cheek in the region of the aching tooth; (b) Place a small piece of Tongan tobacco on the aching tooth; (c) Take scrapings from the bark of the *angoango* tree, strain them through the stipule of the coconut-tree and drink the liquid; (d) Collect twenty-four *takafulu* leaves, pound them and drink the resulting juice. 757 824

Sore eyes: Take six *hulala* leaves, pound them, then dip a piece of bark cloth into the liquid and squeeze out into the sore eye.

²⁸ Notes on the conceptual basis of Tongan disease are given in a short paper by Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga," [13] *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32 (1923) 136-142.

even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have been a course of massage. We have no record of any method of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends. Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

THE GREAT DEBATE ON FLIRTING. 273

but better we should perish from the face of the earth⁶⁴⁶
 than break our solemn covenant with God." William⁶⁷¹
 Maecaliuaki, who generally talks sense, reminds the⁸³⁶
 House that thirteen years ago a similar measure was⁶⁸⁴
 passed, and that within three months an epidemic⁷⁷⁶
 attacked the people, but when the measure was re-^[753]
 pealed the sickness abated. He only mentions the fact
 without drawing any deduction, except that there is
 room for belief that the Almighty *does* expect higher
 things from Tonga than from other countries. A personal^[589]
 element is imported by one of the Nobles, who remarks
 that the law would be entirely unnecessary if it were
 not for the professional bachelors, such as Moengan-
 gongo, Kubu's brother, and Matealona, and half-a-dozen
 others who sat among them. These unfortunates, having
 no defence ready to meet this unprovoked attack, look
 foolish. A fortnight after the session Moengangongo
 espoused the ox-eyed waitress Sau, but whether in conse-
 quence of this public attack, or the young lady's charming
 poses in the windows of the dining-room, has not as yet
 transpired. Forced against our will to play the unwel-⁶⁴⁶
 come part of "devil's advocate," we at last applied the⁶⁷¹
 closure, and the votes were taken. Two of the Ministry,⁸³⁶
 Sateki and Kubu, voted against us. I was about to ex-⁶⁸⁴
 plain to Kubu that one of the principles of party govern-^[645]
 ment was that the members of the Cabinet should act in
 concert, and that, as he had promised to vote for this
 measure, his attitude required explanation; but he fore-
 stalled me by saying that during the debate his *konisiensis*
 (conscience) had met him face to face, and that there-
 fore the terms of his oath compelled him to desert his

A DISGRACEFUL SCENE.

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outside the walls of that House? What respect for Tonga 646
could any of the civilised nations retain if they heard of 576
this disgrace? The Commons seemed quite overcome
with a sense of their guilt. "What has happened?" I
whispered to Kubu. "A disgraceful thing." "But what?"
"A shameful thing. When Osaiase Puaka [Osaias
Hogg] was speaking, some of the Representatives of the
People pretended to cough, and shuffled their feet." The
House had been lashed by the Speaker before his son took
them in hand, and Kubu described his remarks as "very
heavy." He spoke to me afterwards about it. "I was glad,"
he said, "that you were not there to see this shameful
thing; if the miscreants had not been so many, I would
have committed them all to the dark cells. I suppose if
such a thing were to happen in the Parliament of Bili-
tania, the delinquents would go to prison?" "Ye-e-s," I
answered. "But such a thing never has happened?"
"Oh, no; though I have heard of it happening in the
French Parliament," I said, and thought of the House
during one of Mr Conybeare's speeches. But this was
before Messrs Carson and Fisher had taken their seats.

A gloom fell over the House during the debate on the 646
land laws. For some days Havea, a lord of Haapai, had 753
been absent from his seat. At last it is whispered that
his illness is unnameable—that leprosy, the scourge of the
Pacific, has seized upon him. It makes one thoughtful to
remember that until a week ago we were sitting and eating
with a leper; but the consternation in the faces of my
colleagues is due to other causes. For by Tongan etiquette 753
it is more than questionable taste to speak of the illness 576
of a chief; it is forbidden in polite society to mention 565

753 leprosy at all; but to describe a *chief* as a leper is too
576 gross an offence to be conceivable. But the thing has to
[569] be done somehow, and the Premier nobly fills the breach.
They had all heard, he said, about their dear friend and
colleague, and they all mourned when they heard. He
felt sure that he expressed the sentiments of them all
when he said that Havea's friends were pining for him at
home, and therefore it was but right that they should
cheerfully sacrifice their own wishes and relieve the long-
ing of his friends by allowing him to return to them. At
the same time it was right to say that the doctor had
pronounced the report about Havea to be not entirely
true—in short, that the proximity of Havea was not likely
to render it advisable that his companions should return
to *their* friends. But Tuuhetoka was less guarded, being
of a coarser fibre than his chief. "I am in favour," he
said, "of gratifying the longing of Havea's friends to see
his face. Nay, more: to the westward are delightful little
islands, which I know Havea is longing to visit, where
his every wish may be gratified, and where—well—where
the wind would blow so nicely from us to him that Havea
would be more than happy." I improved the opportunity
by urging the necessity of isolating infected persons to
check the alarming increase in the disease. The Com-
mons watched me with the uneasy interest felt by the
crowd at a dangerous tight-rope performance without a
net underneath. I soon floundered helplessly, and before
I was aware of it I uttered the fatal word leprosy (*kilia*).
The House shuddered, and I was covered with shame. To
effect a diversion, I described the labours of Father Damien
at Molokai. At the adjournment Jesuit Hoho button-

LEGISLATION IN WHITE MAN'S FASHION. 281

holed me, and said, "I come to thank you for your words 753
about the priest Tamiene. I shall report your words to 576
my priest and the bishop, who will be much gratified."

There was a fierce battle over the Taxes Bill. It was 646
in vain for us to explain that the abolition of interest on 651
arrears was a large concession, and that the land-tax
of 9 dollars was no higher than the old poll-tax, since
the education rate had been abolished. It was in vain
that we promised that as soon as the country was out of
debt we would consider a proposal of reduction. The
majority had expected in a vague way that Parliament
would reduce the individual taxes from £2 to £1 a man;
and, had the country been out of debt, we should have been
ready enough to recognise that their request was reason-
able,—for direct taxation, vexations to a Tongan as to a
white man, is only defensible when it is light. But the [645]
Government knew that any reduction would mean a [652]
deficit in their Budget, unless Parliament would consent
to abolish some half of the offices of the cumbrous Civil
Service, and they declared their intention of resigning in
a body if they were beaten. Then the aged Niukabu rose
sobbing, and cried aloud, imploring the Premier not to act
fakapapalagi (in white man's fashion). "We are all Ton-
gans, not white men, therefore pity us and reduce our
taxes." But the Ministry were obdurate, and Niukabu's
sobs were drowned by those who dreaded a change of
Ministry worse than taxes.

I had now been eleven months in Tonga, the greater 645
part of my Code had become law, and the remainder was
certain to be passed without alteration: the Ministry had
the confidence of Parliament, and there was a sufficient

form the *moimoe*¹ by embracing her feet when they left her.

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure built of the high estimation in which women were held upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history may be said to date.² The following is an unworthy prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga—lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits; and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from Haafulu hao,³ from Niuafo'ou,⁴ from Niua-tobutabu,⁵ from

¹ A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moimoe* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moimoe* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken.

² Circa 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised. A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence. The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued from oblivion.

³ Vava'u.

⁴ Boscawen Island.

⁵ Keppel's Island.

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of

753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently
 784 is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting
 799 of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses
 755 are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged
 776 and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old
 gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the
 range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily
 mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a
 782 victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in
 755 the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau
 chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw,
 and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the
 important god Bulotu Katon to ensure the recovery of a great Tui
 Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a
 large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing
 on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to
 Bulotu Katon's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf
 all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly
 unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One
 informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-
 Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were
 the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms
 [601] as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English
 sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain
 female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is
 followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt
 that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this
 altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over
 which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier
 782 generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who
 755 lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an
 776 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand
 little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can
 hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without
 presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently
 feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in
 his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes
 to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable
 query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old
 gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the
 sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the
 owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course
 of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few
 remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of
 observation.

NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. COLLOCOT.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Meso in Samoa [776] and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living [771] Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua [776] was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection [778] to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but [764] others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means [776] the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king [613] of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and [776] for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or [825] post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or [778] tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently [793] speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then [787] evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of [792] course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, [776] and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick [753] by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred [842] previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

SICKNESS, GHOSTS AND MEDICINE IN TONGA.

BY E. E. V. COLLOCOTT, M.A.
Nukualofa, Tonga.

752 **P**HYSICAL disabilities have not all equally obvious explanations. If a man is struck on the head with a club, the broken skull and knobby piece of hardwood are material evidences easily associated with his lifeless body. Far otherwise are the mysterious 753 internal pains and weaknesses that attack, now the limbs, then the trunk or the head. How explain the vertigo that may overcome a man on whom is no external mark of violence, that causes his spirit [152] to flee and leave his body senseless on the ground? The Tongan succumbs to nervous pains in a way that, at first sight, seems inconsistent with the stoical fortitude with which he bears muscular injuries; but the explanation probably is that in the one case there is obvious and satisfactory cause for the discomfort, whilst the other is uncanny and dread inspiring. A young fellow, a fine strapping man, who, as a schoolboy in Sydney, had given promise of reaching the highest rung in the cricket ladder, was suffering from a swelling in the side, which the white doctor, a capable surgeon, pronounced incurable without an operation which he, with the facilities at hand, 752 did not deem himself justified in undertaking. The doomed man returned to his own village, and without anaesthetic or antiseptic, was operated on with a penknife, and is now verging into hale and portly, but active, middle age. A woman, very stout, who had lived long enough to become a grandmother, had to have a rib removed. The operation was performed by a skilful European surgeon, but the patient's health would not stand chloroform, and a local anaesthetic proved [152] ineffective. She bore the operation without flinching. Whilst the cutting and scraping of bone was going on the hospital attendants kept asking her how she was. "I'm all right," she would reply, and at last, exasperated by the repeated query, she exclaimed [152] impatiently, "Go ahead, and if I cannot stand it I'll tell you." And yet these people, who endure wounds and fractures with such courage, are unnerved by wind in the stomach, and go to bed to nurse a headache. The native massaging is excellent. I have 752 experienced its benefits. One afternoon I ricked my ankle rather 753 badly. Twice that evening a girl massaged it with warm water and oil (the almost invariable accompaniments of the treatment): it was

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painful, but the next day I walked about without the least twinge. I asked her how she knew where to rub. She replied that she just rubbed. "Well," I said, "How did you learn to do it?" "By doing it," she answered, "my father used to make me go and do it for people." And that was all the explanation she was able to give. At another time I was cured of a strain in the groin by a man who just pressed the top of his thumb gently on the strain, so gently that I thought he was afraid of hurting me: but I was quite well in a few hours.

The trouble with the Tongan practitioners is that they have little or no idea of diagnosing a complaint. They just try one thing after another, and the massaging, excellent as it is, is frequently employed where it is not only useless, but even dangerous. Diagnosis is replaced by a series of trials and failures; as the Tongans say, "We'll have a try." If one thing does not show quick results, try another. A man went to a missionary and asked for medicine for a little girl. "She is very ill indeed," he said, "yesterday we gave her seventeen sorts of medicine and she is not better yet." Different practitioners have their own special remedies. One medicine man, or woman, after another, tries his cure, till one is found which gives promise of success, which shows a "sign," or until death cuts short the experiment, and gives a verdict which is accepted with pious resignation as the will of the Lord.

Nor are efforts at cure confined to the person of the patient. Neglect of the dead is a fruitful source of discomfort and sickness to the living. Many ghosts, however, do not seem to merit so much fear as pity. Certainly there are bad-tempered ghosts, who are the ghosts of bad-tempered people pretty often, but frequently the dead cause annoyance to the living to draw attention to their own miseries. The root of a tree has grown through the head of a buried corpse, and a living relative suffers from headache. Of course the cause of the trouble may not be located at once. The living sufferer has recourse to one treatment after another. All is unavailing. At length the cemetery may be tried. The grave is opened, the root cut out, and the headache disappears. It happens, in the cases of this sort of which I have heard, the patient has generally, if not always been a woman, and the suffering corpse, or ghost, that of an elderly female relative. Sometimes a rearrangement of the buried bones sets everything right, and effects a cure. This ghostly physic is not effective only in cases of headache. The woman who so courageously bore the loss of a rib made good recovery, except for a small hole which refused to close up. It did not occasion any real discomfort, but naturally she preferred to be without it. An investigation of her mother's bones was at length decided upon; but I have not heard whether it has been carried out. The inconsiderate affection of the

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775 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs
787 for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old
friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches,
the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman,
and she may become so violent and excited that several people are
required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good
bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him
from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may
lie inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the
onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of
treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to
press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the
body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in
753 a faint is said to be *mata*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child
[761] spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

[774] Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are
potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homoeopathic, and the
775 effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu tevolo*,
755 smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of
757 scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice
787 pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on
the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems
to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient.
When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her
tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the
ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so
unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream
or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this
775 identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the
769 dead to leave the living alone. There is not a set form of words to
be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that
may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and
medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour
boiling sea-water, on the grave, though this is not necessarily more
effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the
head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would
expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself

775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not
always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mys-
terious lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead
relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly,
and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into
heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

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plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there. 775

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else. 775 753
A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush, by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a lighted lamp."

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth, or whilst they have a child at the breast. A tappa mallet is laid on the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat. Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had offended the ghosts. 775 761

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau, and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the patient dishonoured the remedy by dying. 782 165 755

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large range of disorders is classified as *fusi*, a breaking. There seems to be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated accordingly; both internal and externally. As a cure for an aching back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of 752 753

752 leaves that are drunk tend rather to poison the patient than to assist
 753 his cure; but applied to pneumonia, pleurisy, or consumption, the method is disastrous. The ideas which direct the healer are of the haziest. I once questioned a man, an intelligent man to boot, who was a noted healer in this genre, as to the type of disorder which he treated. I said that I could understand that a broken bone, or even a strained muscle might be spoken of as a rupture, but what sort of a break was that which made a man have a pain in his chest. What was broken or strained? "It's just a break," he said, and that was all about it. I don't think he was guarding professional secrets through fear of a possible rival.

The rupture that causes the trouble may not be recent, but a little judicious questioning does not fail to identify at last the incident to which the blame attaches. A forgotten fall, or the lifting of a heavy weight, is recalled; "Ah, that is it."

753 A third great class of sicknesses embraces boils and ulcers and
 827 rashes and skin diseases generally, as well as swellings and tumours. These external complaints have individual names, but the class name, *hangatamaki*, is applied with the usual vagueness to diseases external and internal. A specially severe sickness of this sort is "various thing," an internal complaint, in which a mixture of troubles are present, together with a roving commission which enables them to attack different parts of the body simultaneously or successively.

755 The medicines for this type of disease seems to have a special viru-
 757 lency, or to be specially suitable for witchcraft. Medicines in general have the power of causing the sickness which they cure. A girl had a swelling on her abdomen which was cured by a woman, but the girl's brother afterwards had a swelling on the neck. This was caused by the medicine which had cured the girl. A woman was once sitting quietly in church, when all at once she commenced to cough. She coughed, and coughed, and presently felt something in her mouth. She put up her hand and grasped it. It was smooth and round. She thought it was the end of her bowels! She pulled, and the thing came away in her hand, and she cast it from her on the floor—a big, strange, hairy worm. Then she gathered it up in her handkerchief. In spite of her fright, she evidently felt strong proprietary rights in the creature, and would have resented anyone else picking it up; "If I can't pick it up, who can?" The sagacious suggestion was made to drown the animal in medicine, and so make a potion able to cure a similar disorder should it ever reappear. But the worm would not drown. It was thrown into various medicines, but thrived in them all, and at last was cast into the fire and burnt. Thus science, on the verge of discovery, was again baffled.

Since medicines have the power of causing the illa they cure they must be treated properly. Unauthorised meddling with medicine

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is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and some virtues resides in themselves. It would be unusual, if not dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European, though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in

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753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that
many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native
[302] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring
[758] a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse
to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised,
are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long
amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish
on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

Supplementary Tongan Vocabulary.

211

802 counter calls aloud. "One, two, three," and so on up to ten, when a second man rises, holding a staff, and calls: "One." Then the counter goes on with the second ten, "One, two, three," and so on till the second ten is completed, when the man with the staff calls: "Two." So it goes on, the first man counting the individuals in groups of ten, the second man keeping the tally of tens, till one hundred, ten tens, is reached, when the second man calls "One hundred," and a third man jumps up and calls "One." The second hundred is counted in the same way as the first by the same two men, and when it is completed the third man, who has been silent meanwhile, calls "Two." If the number be so great that the tenth hundred is completed, the third man, he who keeps the tally of hundreds, calls "One thousand," and a fourth man joins in, and says "One," and it will be his task to keep the tally of the thousands.

PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

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Since the publication of *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1922) several other sayings have been collected, and are now added as supplementary to the previous collection.

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1. *E taha ha lau, tagi ki he ba'a, tagi ki he fanua.* What a lot of talk, cry to be barren, cry to have children. Used of one whose complaints and requests are incompatible, who is never satisfied, but always wants something different. The saying is attributed to Maui Kisikisi, who, when his mother complained of his idleness, set to work digging so vigorously that he shook the whole island of Eua, whereupon his mother complained of the dangerous disturbance he was creating. Maui expressed his exasperation in this saying, and flung his digging-stick far from him. Where the digging-stick struck the earth it scooped out into a huge hole, and out through the cliff-face into the sea, making an archway through the solid rock, all of which the unbeliever may see for himself on the weather coast of Eua.

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2. *'Oku 'ikai ke tuhu'i 'e ha taha 'ae umata.* One does not point at the rainbow. To point at the rainbow causes a swelling of the limb wherewith the pointing is done. Even to-day children are taught by their parents not to point at the rainbow.

3. *'Oku lava 'ae Tu'i Toga.* The Tu'i Tonga is garbed ceremonially (lava). This seems to indicate what is of so great importance that even the Tu'i Tonga takes note of it.

[825]

4. *Be kuo lulu mai mai be kuo kalae mai?* Does he come an owl or a rail? The meaning is: "Does he come full-handed or empty-handed?" it being held that when the owl comes he usually brings something with him, whereas the rail does not.

5. *Fakalogo ki kafa.* Obeying, judging by, cord. The idea is that of a vessel dropped down a deep well, attached to a cord. The drawer of water cannot see when the vessel is full, but judges by the feel of the cord when it has reached the water, and when it is full. Figuratively the expression indicates sounding, feeling about, for information of that which is uncertain, out of sight.

6. *Futa kaunahu.* Pride (through the) mat-edge. This is an expression from the game of *lafo*. The *kaunahu* is the raised edge, or

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs. 582 605 [565]

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back." 784 562 584 [554]

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be noted later. 784 554 264 753 755 [271] [171]

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643 though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did 493 not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his 644 retainers. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643 arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302 house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This 778 ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643 supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304 had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565 is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537 speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195 his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784 which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one 643 for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface. Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784 person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576 a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753 without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 521 565

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last coming to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence of embarrassment. 784 576 753 521 565 [17]

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished. In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently performed at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning "flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as "Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and 276 574 643 574 644 276 574

of true love, errant. fancy may have been attracted by some other 588
 charmer.. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had 797
 to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the 743
 cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and
 Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the
 Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used 682
 to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to 776
 the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who
 either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods some-
 times turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide.
 Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and be- 776
 fore it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of 753
 a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher 787
 to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the 793
 convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity,
 and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away
 in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now
 returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter
 used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now recon-
 ciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the dec-
 laration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he
 went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their 778
 neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the
 duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces
 in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there
 has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the
 inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstrac-
 tions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is
 employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is 821
 a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing 832
 this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

boil and ulcer sort; that further there are different individuals who specialize in the cure of different diseases. Should a man desire, for example, to put a tabu on his plantation, he will go to a person who has the reputation of being able to cure some sort of hangatamaki with the request that this medicine man (or woman) assist him with his art. The practitioner then makes up little bundles of medicine and hangs them about the premises it is desired to protect. Should anyone, even the owner, dare to break the tabu and touch anything on the property he will be afflicted with the special hangatamaki in which the medicine man consulted specializes, who again is alone able to cure these punitive visitations, which he will be quite ready to do—for a consideration. When it is desired to remove the tabu the owner and the medical practitioner together go and take down the packages. The practice of putting a plantation under the protection of a shark god has already been mentioned.

In 1917 a man died in Tonga as the result of the black art as practised on him by a man of Fiji. In this case the witchcraft was described by the term fakalouakau, that is "by a leaf," or "making a leaf." It seems that a year or two previously the unfortunate victim had been on a visit to Fiji, and had been put under the spell of fakalouakau by a native of that country. Report hath it that contemporaneously with the death of the Tongan the maleficent Fijian also met his own end. One method of practising fakalouakau is to get something which has been in close contact with the person on whom it is desired to operate, e.g., nail-parings, and wrap it up and bury it. As the buried object rots a sympathetic disease will appear in the victim. One man in discussing these matters drew his examples entirely from Fiji. He said that in Fiji a man would take a piece of young leaf shoot and chew it, muttering the while the name of the person he wished to injure. It is dangerous for anyone to come in contact with such a fragment of leaf after it has been spat out; and the basket in which the Tongan medicine to cause the hangatamaki is kept is likewise a source of peril. This man added the further information regarding the black art amongst his neighbors of the Fiji group that there one may cause foot trouble in an enemy by stabbing his foot-prints. A Fijian after drinking a coconut should

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[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to
 [764] all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression
 [65] when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque
 some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension
 they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases
 784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have
 764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in
 264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at
 one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body
 of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who
 had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month
 784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or
 262 edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid
 101 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in
 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop
 it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of
 the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very
 custom as expressing its singularity.

784 From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these
 [775] mourning and religious ceremonies are executed one would expect to
 find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some
 other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things
 merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future
 punishment for faults committed in this life. They however believe
 that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method
 to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.
 [776] The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga¹ who
 [82] they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,
 [82] winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.
 [753] They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of
 [761] the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed
 by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death
 as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no
 wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their
 power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural
 order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their
 776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this
 778 divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they
 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,
 though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

¹ Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289-90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla
 [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

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797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his Journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

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[775]
[776] and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

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784 In an earlier Journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the 'otua as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Mafi:

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[776] Just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Sea. He went to see him, Mafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Mafi had eaten the fish called Feke, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-Journal entry for the same day. In his letter-Journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

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[784]
[776] telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feke was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining 'otua with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

77: Whitcombe

OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192,
pp. 14-19.]✓

101 square miles. Nuku'alofa, with an approxi-
162 mate population of 15,000, is the largest city
in Tonga and the capital (14).

II. A Review of Medical Practices in Tonga

175 A fairly detailed description of medical
114 practices in Tonga is found in *William*
177 *Mariner's Account of the Natives of the*
Tonga Islands (17, pp. 240-273). This
account was related to J. Martin by William
Mariner, who was shipwrecked somewhere
in the archipelago in the early 1800's. The
first Europeans to arrive in Tonga were
missionaries sent out by the London Mis-
sionary Society in 1797.

757 Martin reports that around the year 1800
few plants were used in treating illness.
[753] Sickness was thought to originate from an
outside force, and all remedies used by the
Tongan were reasonably categorized by
Martin into three groups: invocation, sac-
rifice, and external operations. When plant
remedies were employed, they had no effect
either upon the disease or the patient.
Martin states that such remedies were held
in "little esteem," for when the reigning
king's daughter became seriously ill plant
medicines were not considered (17).

752 Martin does refer, however, to the uses
278 of three plants. To reduce ophthalmic inflam-
mations, the juice of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*)
was used. Following circumcision, the end
of the penis was wrapped in the leaf of
gnata'i (*Erythrina* spp.?). And the ulcerated
sores of venereal diseases were treated with
powder of turmeric from the fleshy rootstock
of *Curcuma longa*.

757 Martin states that "the idea of giving
177 (plant) infusions was first taken from the
natives of the Fiji Islands." The Tongan
177 also learned the practice of surgery in Fiji,
where constant wars afforded great oppor-
752 tunities for practicing this art. The three
most important operations then practiced in
Tonga were *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis
(drainage of fluid from the chest cavity);
tocolosi, or an operation to cure tetanus; and
broca, or castration.

755 Charms and amulets were not employed
[782] in ceremonies for the patient. Sacrifices
were common, and horrors such as *tootoo-*

757 ointments prescribed were of an antibac-
terial nature. Only an antifungal antibiotic
[278] would have worked in this case. After
treatment with the plant remedy (a concoction
of the leaves of *Solanum uporo*, *Ecodia
hortensis*, and *Capsicum frutescens*), the
patient reported that she was able to sleep,
no longer kept awake by pain.

Collocott (7) believes that diagnosis pro-
ceeds by a series of trials with different
medicines. He reports that one cure after
another is tried until one is found that
works, or until the patient dies. As in Fiji,
759 different practitioners have their own special
757 cures. For each of them the etiology of a
[171] disease is unimportant. What matters is
knowing if a certain condition is one they
can cure (23). Each practitioner is highly
specialized and may treat illnesses associated
with only one body system. Some practi-
tioners will treat all illnesses but are special-
ized in that they treat only children or the
aged. I did not encounter any practitioner
[755] who diagnosed a complaint through com-
munications with the supernatural world.

753 There is one reference in the literature,
however, which indicates that there is some
belief in the psychological causation of cer-
tain diseases. Churchward's dictionary of
[754] the Tongan language defines the word *sau-
sau* as a bundle of leaves buried near a tree
and believed to cause sickness to anyone
taking fruit from the tree. The word *fula*
is defined as a swelling caused by breaking
a *tapu* (a cultural restriction), especially by
eating a chief's leftover food (8).

278 Few plants are cultivated specifically for
249 their medicinal value, and many useful
species are found growing in villages. Most
medicinal plants are collected in "the bush"
278 or near the sea. There do not appear to be
314 any special harvesting techniques and the
leaves, bark, and roots are taken from any
plant of the required species.

278 Most medicines are prepared in the form
of infusions. Generally, a handful of the
required plant part is wrapped in a clean
white cloth or the stipule of *Cocos nucifera*
and squeezed five or six times in a half
[757] coconut shell of fresh water. The resulting
filtrate is taken usually once daily until the
patient responds to treatment. In all cases
where stem or root bark is used, the cork

278 layer, which might contain foreign matter, is removed by scraping. The inner bark is then removed and utilized in medicines.

An important ingredient in many plant remedies is "Tongan oil." This is prepared by pounding together the endocarp of the nuts of *Aleurites moluccana* with the leaves or flowers of *Melastoma denticulatum*, *Decaspermum fruticosum*, *Cinnamomum* spp., and *Coleus amboinicus*. Into the mixture is added the oil of grated coconut flesh, and the intermediate product is allowed to set overnight. The following day the mass is kneaded and pressed against a sheet of corrugated iron, and the "Tongan oil" flows off the sheet into a waiting basin. Fragments of plant parts are strained out through a piece of tapa cloth, and the remaining mixture is left in the sun to evaporate the moisture. The oil is then poured into glass bottles stopped with tapa and stored until ready for use. (15). Massaging accompanies most remedies, and the oil is usually used for this massaging.

757

753 Illnesses have been categorized into three divisions by Collocott (7). One large group is characterized by illnesses thought to be caused by ghosts of deceased relatives. The 752 second group comprises disorders such as broken bones or sprains which are called 753 fast and are usually treated by massage. The third class is composed of skin disorders and include boils, ulcers, rashes, and tumors. This class is known in Tonga as *hangatamaki*.

276 Several questions pertaining to folk medicine in Tonga remain unanswered. Why is there no record present or past of the employment of hallucinogenic or narcotic plants by the Tongan in his medical or religious rites? Has there been less need for these agents than in many areas of South America and Asia? Have these Pacific islanders been

137 less inquisitive about their flora? There are several plants used as psychomimetics or narcotics in other parts of the world that are found in Tonga: *Datura stramonium* L. (5), *Capsicum* sp. (26), *Solanum nigrum* L. (21), and a few species contain ergoline alkaloids capable of producing psychomimetic reactions. The plants include *Ipomoea pes-caprae* (L.) Sweet, *Argyrea nervosa* (Burm. f.) Bojer, and *Stictocardia tiliifolia* (Desrou.) Hallier.² Barrau (2) reports *Zingiber*

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278 refuge and it is reported that the bark is a
[171] depressant (8).

In Tonga the leaves are pounded and
squeezed through a piece of tapa cloth into
a bowl of cold water. One teaspoonful of
278 the resulting filtrate is taken to cure convul-
757 sions in infants. The drink is sometimes
resorted to for stomach ache (15).

278 INOCARPUS EDULIS J. R. & G. Forst.

137 #fi

This plant is found throughout Tonga and
occurs from Malaysia to Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti the pounded bark is applied to
bites of poisonous fish (19). In Niue the
137 leaves of *I. fagiferus* are used in medicines
(31).

278 Koch (15) reports that in Tonga the bark
757 is valued in treating diarrhea in children.

PUEANARIA LOBATA (Willd.) Ohwi

278 *fue'aepuaka*, aka

137 This vine, frequent in Tonga, ranges from
Asia and Malaya to Polynesia.

278 According to Yunker *P. lobata* is used
medicinally (32).

278 VIGNA MARINA (Burm.) Merr.

137 *lantolu tahi*

This long-trailing pantropical vine is com-
mon on beaches in Tonga.

278 A drink prepared by squeezing the young
leaves through a piece of cloth into a bowl
757 of water is taken in Tonga to cure "sleeping
fits" in infants. The crushed leaves are
applied to boils, and steam which originates
from the leaves when they are placed in a
basin of boiling water is inhaled to cure

[753] fever and headache. Aches believed to be
[775] caused by ghosts of deceased relatives are
treated by applying the crushed leaves to
the affected part of the body.

LILIACEAE

(Lily Family)

278

137 CORDYLINE TERMINALIS (L.) Kunth.

si

This plant is found throughout Tonga and
is widely distributed in Polynesia.

278 A species of *Cordyline* is used widely in
[171] the Pacific (21).

[757] In Tonga the leaves of *C. terminalis* are

[p.440-B]

8 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
 [792] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
 [787] in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
 John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Com-
 mittee in London:

782 January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was
 304 of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he
 755 would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to
 no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's
 son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods.
 His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain.
 (W-M Mag. 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were
 731 attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the
 spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
 761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were
 made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
 778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
 [792] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The
 sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were
 being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous
 of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest
 was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3).
 The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec.
 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became
 very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he
 (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wanton-
 ness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the
 Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
 [600] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from
 attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a
 crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement.
 (Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu
 [565] where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
 that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

58 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

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and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

753 Afflicted with their traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or
776 cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. Accordingly, they believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

797 Fortunately for the cause of the mission, the missionaries at
758 Nuku'alofa were more successful in combating disease than John Thomas had been at Hihifo. Nathaniel Turner wrote of their experience in this regard:

I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends, and they all beholding what has been done for him, the whole family, and, in some instances, families have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. (N. Turner to Committee, 6 May 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2832)

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent, and consequently dispensary hours had become part of their regular activities.

797 The missionaries' goods—articles of trade—were highly prized
439 by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade', wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause' (Thomas, Journal, 2 June 1826). Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house built in Tonga, having two storeys with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination and became the chief topics of conversation not only

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 784 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
 178 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
 778 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
 meaning is far more ethical than that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
 lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
 771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
 783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
 776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
 178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
 did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
 absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
 suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
 (753) transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
 (784) almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
 by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
 771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
 776 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
 178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
 part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
 793 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in con-
 554 trast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
 178 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
 782 carried out for a long time, but, in a sense, the very high
 178 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
 771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
 178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.
 (771) These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
 into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

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intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

671. These are today known as tevolo (devils),
as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback
at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report

(787) ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some
natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

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672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it
embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded

(673) as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a
villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing
more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on
field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of
foilage (673)

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673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a
strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it;
the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo
has been placed is supposed to be punished
with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers,
paralysis).

● (753)

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on
their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation
thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

(753)

674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day
Tonga; some natives also still believe that
it is not good to take food leftovers and
cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin
area are supposed to be the consequence.

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The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that
are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of
fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not
believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,